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chance for a good marriage if she has an illegitimate child, however." Illegitimacy may even be a spur to achievement:

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An illegitimate child, when he realizes that he has no father, tries to make good in other ways, by bravery perhaps. There was a man in my group who was illegitimate but who rose to be a leader in war. He was recognized as a brave and good man and was respected. A man can rise from an illegitimate childhood position to wealth or even chieftainship if he has powerful friends.

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Theories of conception.—Any discussion of illegitimacy raises the question of theories of conception, for the term for "bastard," literally, "child of many," is the verbal symbol of far-reaching notions.

Ideas of fetal development begin much like modern scientific dicta:

We believe that life is connected with a woman's egg. I've never heard them talk much about what there is there first from which the child develops. Everything has to start from eggs, I guess. Turtles and birds do.

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Likewise the male seminal fluid is seen as a fertilizing agent. But here the parallel ceases:

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I have heard the old men speak about it [i.e., semen] and say that it comes out of very rich blood. It is the very best, the richest blood. It is stored up in the testicles. Then it affects the feeling of all the nerves [creates desire] and it is the belief that it brings birth. It affects both men and women.

The Chiricahua believe that there is in the woman a pouch with her blood in it. When the man has intercourse with a woman, some of his blood [semen] enters her. But just a little goes in the first time, and not as much as the woman has in there. The child does not begin to develop yet, because the woman's blood struggles against it. The woman's blood is against having the child; the man's blood is for it. When enough collects, the man's blood forces the baby to come.

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A logical extension of the "blood accumulation" theory is the belief that impregnation cannot occur as a result of a single sexual contact. Said a spokesman in reference to his first sexual experience:

One night when I was out with her, we got pretty excited. I handled her quite a lot. She resisted a little but not too much, and finally she let me do it. . . . After we finished, I felt pretty ashamed. I took that girl back. I avoided her for quite a time. Later on I got over it and didn't avoid her, but I never took her out again or did anything to her.

I wasn't afraid that I had got her in trouble. I had only had intercourse with her once. Nothing can come of that. You have to do it with a girl twenty or

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941

(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

THE ROUND OF LIFE

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Social dancing is recreation which all can enjoy equally:

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We do not speak of a good dancer when referring to the social dancing. One person is not considered better than another at it. There is no chance to show off. The only dances in which the individual can show ability are the war dance and the masked dancing. Women cannot dance these. But people get real pleasure out of dancing the social dances with someone they like.

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To sing well for the social dance is a real distinction, however:

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It seems to me that there are three different registers of singing found among these Indians. My voice is low; N.'s is high. If I put my hand to the side of my mouth, I can sing all night. But I can't last on the high ones.

The telling of myths provides another opportunity for those who live in close proximity to gather. The expert raconteur is highly regarded.

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I was in the store the other day, and J. was in there talking to a group of men. He was talking about the old times. He told about a man who used to be very good at telling all kinds of stories. A group of men thought they would play a joke on him. They all went over there and told him that he had to tell all the stories he knew and that they were going to sit there and listen until he was through. They were going to give him his fill of telling stories for once.

This fellow was quite a joker. He said, "All right!" and he started in. They came there early in the evening. That man told stories all night and then kept on during the day until about four o'clock in the afternoon. Everybody else was all tired out, and he was still telling stories.

Another able story-teller, whose case is of special interest because his excellence as an entertainer evidently was his chief claim upon the respect and good opinion of his fellows, is likewise fondly remembered:

My father knew I. He couldn't fight; he was no account in war. But he was a great joker and story-teller. All used to gather at his camp to hear him. The old men laugh and talk about him yet. My father imitates him, using the left hand, for I. was left-handed. It sure is funny to watch. I. thought quickly. Even the old people surely liked him.

As a general rule the Chiricahua dodge around when they fight. Though I. never fought, he'd talk like this: "When you're in a fight, don't dodge—you might run into an arrow. Why do you fellows dodge around like that?"

He'd say things like this: "Do you see those hills? Those hills were small when I came through there a little while ago. They must have grown since. Do you see that mesquite tree? I was chasing deer. Notice that limb. The horse was going full speed for it. It looked as though I was going to get brushed off by it. Then I jumped one way and the horse went the other. I landed on the back

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND STATUS 465

To appreciate the mechanics of the elevation of a man to the office of leader, the conception of status must be understood. Distinctions of status dependent upon birth are recognized, although they are not rigidly maintained and are not uninfluenced by considerations of wealth and ability.³ 554 (556) (555)

When we say "people who are worthless," we are thinking of those who are not refined, who are of low birth. It is as if you said, "That person's line is no good." It always carries the idea of low birth. When a man gets angry at someone, he tells him that he belongs to this class; he uses it as an insult. But, no matter of what family a man comes, he isn't called this unless he is shiftless, lazy, and unreliable. Some are like that. Of some we say, "Their excrement juts out [because they are too lazy to wipe it away]."

Of another person we might say, "He is from his [good] people." This is used in the sense of descent from the families of leaders and the wealthy. Those of whom this is said are more respected. It is pretty clear cut, and there is not much doubt whether a person belongs to this class or not. 578

Another informant speaks of the same extremes of status designation but calls attention to the middle position which most individuals hold:

Those who have sprung from families of wealth and influence are said to be "the people of good birth." It is easy to recognize them. A ceremonial man's children would not necessarily come under this classification, for a ceremonial man could be very poor. The word "worthless" is applied to people who are just loose, ignorant, or of a very poor family. Most people are in between; they are respectable people and contribute to everything in a good way. But still they are not the descendants of leaders. There is no name for them.

The right to respect has to be validated by achievement and effort:

The word meaning "he is from his [good] people" is used of the descendants of the politically influential and wealthy. Still, of a man who comes of good blood but is worthless and a waster, they say, "He comes of good blood, all right; but he is worthless." The term is not applied to such a person. It is said only of descendants of influential or wealthy men who are themselves so. There isn't much question about it or any need for dispute. Whether you like a person or not, you have to recognize his importance and position. If my grandfather or uncle was a leader, I would come under this term. People would expect me to live up to it. The term includes strong people, people strong in social position or in war. But it has to be generally accepted. People have to have respect for you.

³ Such distinctions have already been touched upon in connection with the rearing and training of children (see pp. 28-29).

AN APACHE LIFE-WAY

622 upon a young man of rank are likely to assure him more than the
554 ordinary share of gifts and products of the raid. His marriage
556 connections will probably also be of the best. The tie between
leadership and wealth is a close one:

[595] If a man gets a lot of cattle, all his friends and relatives want to help him and live off him; and so such a man is respected. Everybody wants to help him and be his friend. He may butcher an animal for the whole crowd occasionally. He becomes a leader. If he has many horses, all his friends use them; they thus put themselves under him, and he becomes their leader. A leader has to be rich anyway in order to give feasts. An important leader has four or five wives, and he takes care of them. In general, he has the best of everything.

622 Exceptional bravery sometimes elevates a warrior to rank even
554 though his antecedents are ordinary:
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A man who has done great deeds in war may be looked on as a leader when he comes back, even though he is not of a leader's family. A prisoner who has grown up with the Chiricahua and has accepted the life might even become a leader if he is brave and successful enough.

622 The functions of the leader are varied:

In case of war a leader heads the men when they go to battle. In time of peace he acts as adviser. He has charge of the group as far as camping, living conditions, and water supply are concerned. He advises the men about the hunt, where to go and how. Besides being an adviser and commander in war, the leader is also a peacemaker on occasion. If there should be a murder and the leader finds it out, he and some assistants saddle their horses, ride out among the camps, and work for peace so that there will not be any trouble. If the leader is not present when the act occurs, there may be a lot of trouble. The people try to fix it up peaceably; if not, trouble continues and there may be a long family feud.

[431] The leader is supposed to talk to his people. He is supposed to be sympathetic and tell them how to live, sympathetic in the sense of giving out horses and valuables to those who need them. The leader is supposed to give something to eat to everyone who comes around. He has control in time of war. You can't disobey him. The leader advises the people to help the unfortunate, to give to those whose luck is bad. He advises against fights in the camps; he doesn't want any quarrels within the group.

[756] He advises the people to be on the lookout all the time. He may request that a ceremony be performed by a shaman for the benefit of the men during a raid. If the leader is advised by the shaman as a result of such a ceremony to do this or

[556] that, he carries out what the power tells him to do. A man must be wealthy and have a big following to be a chief.

Nothing special is done when a man becomes a leader. People just take it for granted. He talks then. He gives speeches on public occasions.